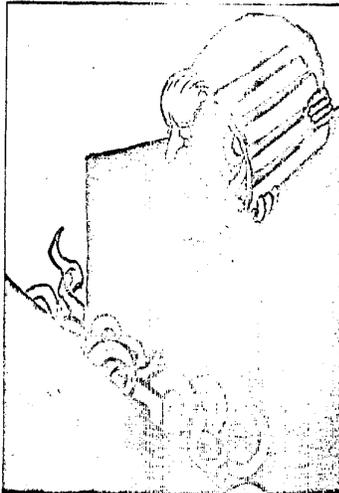




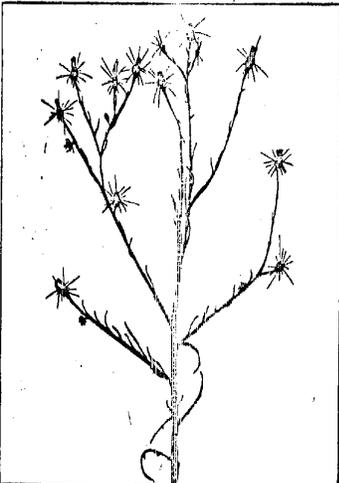
[Page 15] Lord Russell



[Page 24] Wartime Washington



[Page 32] King on Vietnam



[Page 40] Conservation, Part II

# Ramparts

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 11      MAY 1967

## MARGINALIA

LETTERS	3
SOREL'S BESTIARY	5
The Mourning Dove	
EDITORIAL: A King-Spock Ticket	6
OPINION: Teapot Dome 1967?	6
<i>by Adam Hochschild</i>	
BOOK REVIEW	50
<i>by Jessica Mitford</i>	
THE STAGE: The Mask is the Same	54
<i>by Stephen Schneck</i>	
BELLES LETTRES: A Letter from	
Nelson Algren	56

## ESSAYS

LORD RUSSELL	15
<i>by Robert Scheer</i>	
WARTIME WASHINGTON	24
<i>by Andrew Kopkind</i>	
"AND BLESSED BE THE FRUIT"	30
<i>by Don Duncan</i>	
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	
FROM THE WAR IN VIETNAM	32
<i>by Martin Luther King Jr.</i>	
AMERICA THE RAPED—PART II	40
<i>by Gene Marine</i>	

## POETRY

MOSCOW IN THE WILDERNESS . . .	22
<i>by Lawrence Ferlinghetti</i>	

## Apologia:

THIS MONTH we are five years old, exactly. You will forgive a lack of sentimentality if we let it go at that.

Having said things past in very righteous anger concerning the United States system of mails, we are happy to put in one good word for Larry O'Brien and his pack of civil service rascals. After taking a record five weeks to get the February RAMPARTS to subscribers, the mail boys dispatched the April issue through rain, snow, sleet, etc., in no more than five days. We shall see about May.

For our part in attempting to win the get-the-damn-magazine-to-subscribers-before-it-comes-out-on-the-newsstands Merit Badge, we hope to make some Brownie points by establishing what the

Post Office people call an "additional mailing entry" at Pittsburgh, Penna., a nice enough town. What this means is that copies for all east coast subscribers will be rushed from our presses in Denver overnight to Pittsburgh where the franking process will commence and everything thenceforth should happen days earlier.

This will also ease the load on the little men who lick the postage stamps at our Denver mailing house, so all subscribers should get better service than that to which they have been accustomed, which has got to be good news.

Everyone who remembers Penn Jones Jr., the tough editor of the weekly Midlothian (Texas) Mirror who unearthed the story about the mysterious deaths surrounding President Kennedy's assassination (November 1966), will be pleased to know about still another courageous small town weekly editor.

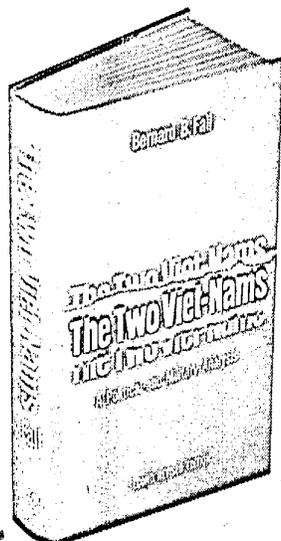
Staff writer Adam Hochschild's account of the oil shale scandal unearthed by J. R. Freeman of the Farmer and Miner in Frederick, Colorado (pop. 599), begins on page 6.

As it must apparently to all men, the rumor of secret CIA financing has come to rest on Ramparts. An exclu-type story in one of the Bill Buckley-blessed right wing journals reasons that Ramparts got CIA dough because a director of the magazine is connected with Robert Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions which several years back received a grant from a foundation that several years prior had received money from a foundation which some time before that had received money from another foundation which had taken CIA money. That is as accurate a report of the logic and rhetoric of the article as we are able to make out. We are, of course, investigating. W.H.

**PRAEGER**

Bernard B. Fall's

**Four vital new books on  
VIETNAM**



**THE TWO VIET-NAMS**  
A Political and Military Analysis  
Second Revised Edition

The late Bernard B. Fall's highly praised, widely read book (in its 9th printing) was acclaimed by *The New York Times* as "clearly the most comprehensive and illuminating study . . . of the total situation in Vietnam." Now extensively revised, updated, and expanded, the new edition is the most authoritative and up-to-date work currently available. **\$7.95**

**VICTOR CHARLIE**  
The Face of War in Vietnam

By KUNO KNOEBL. Introduction by BERNARD B. FALL. For the first time—a unique, eyewitness report on the daily lives, and sudden deaths, of participants on both sides of the battle line. "What we have here is the firsthand testimony, from direct observation in both camps, by a European neutral who is more concerned with people and what war does to them than with grand strategy. He is capable of telling his Viet-Cong escorts that antiwar demonstrations in the U.S. mean little in the face of American governmental resolve to prosecute the war; he describes in detail the death by torture at Viet-Cong hands of a South Vietnamese Government informer. But Knoebl, firsthand observer, can also write that the South Vietnamese, and the American diplomats who advised them, 'failed miserably' in rising to the Viet-Cong challenge and were prisoners of their own self-delusions."—Bernard B. Fall, in the Introduction. **\$5.95**

**VIETNAM: A DRAGON EMBATTLED**

Volume I: From Colonialism to the Vietminh  
Volume II: Vietnam at War

By JOSEPH BUTTINGER, author of *The Smaller Dragon*. A noted authority presents a monumental study of Vietnam from the beginning of the French colonial period to the fall of Diem in 1963. "No other work in English covers critical events in Vietnam in this century in such detail."—*Library Journal*. 1,352 pp., map, notes, appendixes, bibliog., index. Two vols., boxed, **\$18.50**

**HO CHI MINH ON REVOLUTION**  
Selected Writings, 1920-66

Edited and with an Introduction by BERNARD B. FALL. Little is known of the mysterious 77-year-old Ho Chi Minh, President of the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam." And until now Ho's writings have not been easily obtainable in this country. This wide-ranging selection covers five decades of speeches, articles, pamphlets, interviews, and even poetry (written while in Chinese jails), and presents both a record of Ho's participation on the world political scene and a revealing self-portrait. "The style throughout is vivid, and the insights are those of an exceptional man. Bernard Fall has done an expectedly impressive job."

—*Kirkus Service*. **\$6.95**

NOW AT YOUR BOOKSTORE



**FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, Publishers**

A Subsidiary of Encyclopaedia Britannica  
New York, N. Y. 10003



# Marginalia



## Letters:

### CLOAK & DIGGERS

SIRS:

Your recent "expose" articles on the CIA [RAMPARTS, April 1967] seem somewhat lacking in perspective. You treat the American intelligence effort as though it operated in an international vacuum. The KGB and GRU and their predecessors were carrying on both information and operational functions for a full 30 years before the U.S. put an intelligence organization in the field. The Chinese have demonstrated in Burundi, the Congo and Indonesia that they too are very much involved in this type of sub rosa warfare.

Your righteous horror over the fact that the CIA recruits foreign nationals to spy against their own countries reveals a complete ignorance of the realities of international espionage. You don't run a spy system like a day camp. Every intelligence agency in the world utilizes exactly the same techniques of bribing, blackmailing and bludgeoning an agent into service. When you demand that the U.S. cease recruiting foreign nationals for intelligence tasks in their own nation, you are in reality demanding the cessation of covert intelligence collection.

If you continue your, to date, rather myopic presentation of international intelligence activities, Mr. Semichastny (present KGB head) will doubtless put your name in nomination for a Stalin (oops . . . I mean Lenin) Peace Prize.

DOUGLAS WOLF  
Oakland, California

SIRS:

I have just read your interesting commentary in the March RAMPARTS on the hippie scene and feel refreshed. Having been a self-styled exile from the Establishment during my college days at the University of Chicago in the '40s, but

now dwelling inside a Brooks Brothers suit, I salute those hippies who practice what we could only preach.

I wish to point out that "levi" appeared in lower-case form on page 9 of Mr. Hinckle's article. Nobody but Levi Strauss & Co. makes Levi's and we'd like to keep it that way. Please help us to keep the faith by spelling our prime registered trademark with a capital "L" should you have further occasion to print it.

Our pants and jackets are not designed for the Brooks Brothers trade nor for the hippies, but for everybody! Levi's blue jeans are the acknowledged uniform of the Hell's Angels and a favorite garb of the royal family of England. The wearing of our pants has been known to produce a mild degree of euphoria.

In 1850 Mr. Levi Strauss came into the West and made the first pair of blue jeans. About 100 years later, LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) came along. We were first with LSD (Levi Strauss denim).

R. S. KROHN  
Manager, Public Relations Dept.  
Levi Strauss & Co.  
San Francisco, California

SIRS:

Warren Hinckle's analysis of the hippies in your March issue was excellent. By "dropping out," they are also "signing up," and becoming accessories to the very Establishment they are trying to escape. The similarity between LSD and the "Soma" of Huxley's *Brave New World* is dismally apparent.

Emmett Grogan's statement, "Do your thing, be what you are, and nothing will ever bother you," would be merely comically naive if it were not so pathetic. Unfortunately for the Grogans of this world, LBJ is also "doing his thing" and the results may bother the Diggers just a bit.

M. JOHN POTTER, M.D.  
Monterey Park, California

AH, WILDERNESS!

SIRS:

I must congratulate Gene Marine on "America the Raped" [RAMPARTS, April 1967]. His piece is thoughtful, courageous and right, and it goes far deeper than other articles I've read. May the second part of his treatment be as good!

A. B. GUTHRIE, JR.  
Missoula, Montana

SIRS:

As a backpack snob, I'd like to criticize Gene Marine for his unenthusiastic approach to wilderness preservation. There *is* such a thing as quality in outdoor recreation, which he could find out, maybe, by leaving his car (perfect expression of the technological arrogance he decries) behind next time.

TOM LYON  
Logan, Utah

SIRS:

Every American should read your April conservation piece "America the Raped"—and then he should read it again to be sure he hasn't missed a word.

We have one footnote for you. The writer said "by the time you read this . . . unless some completely unexpected intervention has taken place" Canal 111 will already be pouring salt water into the Everglades. The unexpected took place. We filed a lawsuit and opening of the canal was postponed indefinitely; we only hope the canal will still be closed by the time your readers read this.

National Audubon has also been fighting for wetlands, for Tampa Bay, for Storm King, against DDT, for the Great Swamp, and so forth, on down the list of conservation causes Gene Marine has discussed so far. We welcome any of your readers who will join us.

CHARLES H. CALLISON  
National Audubon Society  
New York City



# Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

INTERNATIONAL POSTERS, P.O. BOX 545  
COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

GENTLEMEN: I'M REALLY GOING TO MAKE A PARTY OF IT.  
RUSH ME THESE GIANT-SIZE 2½ BY 3½ FEET POSTERS.

- MAO     CASTRO     TROTSKY     STALIN
- LENIN     MARX     HO

NUMBER OF POSTERS ORDERED \_\_\_\_\_  
 AT \$1.00 EACH \$ .00  
 50¢ HANDLING \$ .50  
 ENCLOSED IS CHECK FOR \$ .50

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_



## Will he follow in his father's footsteps?

For many men, having sons follow in their footsteps is a fond dream.

For others, it's a nightmare.

Unfortunately for the poor and unskilled, the nightmare all too frequently becomes reality through no fault of their own. Their children start out so far behind only the extraordinary ones catch up. The others drop out. Losers. And the loss isn't only theirs. The country loses, too, every time one of these children can't realize his potential to make his full contribution to society.

The problems are large and complex and the solutions are not easy. But headway is being made. Thanks to the combined efforts and ingenuity of concerned people everywhere: in government; in education; in local communities; and in private industry.

At McGraw-Hill, new techniques have been developed to minimize the effects of social, racial, and ethnic factors in testing. The results: The natural learning abilities of children are discovered *before* testing to get more accurate predictions of their readiness and learning potential.

There's a new series of school books that take into account the experiences and environment of slum children. The stories unfold in settings where people have black skins. Or Spanish names. Or where dialects are unknown. The result is new interest in books and new incentive to develop reading skills.

And there's a wide variety of films to deal frankly with the special social problems of these children so that they can better understand their world.

These are just a few examples of what we are doing. There are many more, and they all have a common denominator. They reflect an awareness of social problems. A willingness to explore scientific and technological advances to improve education, training and understanding between neighbors and nations. And a readiness to experiment with new ideas, techniques, and systems, if they promise to be better than the old ones.

What's new and better may come in a variety of packages. Improved books. Magnetic tapes. Records. Films. Instructional systems. They're all part of our business. Part of an exciting revolution that offers a chance to make tomorrow better than today.

**MCGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY**  
A publisher who doesn't always go by the book